1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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His wife then ran off to Karieta and fought with Fungata. They came to blows, and in ripping off Fungata's necklace, Tilamau broke it. She then came back to the house, but Fantan had meanwhile hidden himself in the servants' quarters behind my house. He told Stephanus and Nitaniel (two of my boys) to tell his wife, if she came, that he was not there. His wife arrived and went directly to the servants' room and tried to pull open the door, but Fantan held it from the inside. His wife then hid quietly around the corner of the house. When Fantan came out to see where she was, she attacked him once more. He again struck her twice on the upper thighs with the rattan switch, which he was still carrying. He raised large welts and she again drew her knife. Stephanus and Nitaniel held her and got scratched in the process. Fantan ran off around the corner of the house. 159X

Meanwhile Thomas and Maleboi (two other servants) came running into the house to tell me of the fight and ask me to come out and stop it. Thomas hastened to explain that he was afraid to handle Fantan's wife roughly because she was pregnant. When I went out Fantan had just disappeared around the corner of the house. He circled the house and as I stood out back he dashed into my room, where he hid himself. As I came in he peered through a crack of the door, obviously very much afraid. All this quarrel was uncharacteristically quiet, with a minimum of shouting. [843]

Tilamau sat down near the house, crying and raging. Thomas tried to tease her back into good humor but received only two hard blows for his effort. Fantan skulked on the verandah for about two hours, while his wife lay in wait for him outside. Finally toward evening she left and he also went off.

Meanwhile Fungata had already made a litigation with the chief of Dikimpe because of her broken necklace. The chief said Tilamau would have to pay a fine; but neither Tilamau, her parents, nor Fantan would pay. So the chief of Dikimpe was angry and brought the oath stone [*namoling*] from Karieta and swore an oath, saying that they could not come to him any more to try cases. Included in his repudiation were Manifani and his brother Langmani, who were Tilamau's maternal uncles and supported her in the refusal to pay a fine. Then Fungata went to the chief of Karieta, who summoned Tilamau to attend a new trial. She refused to go. [691] [685]

So early Monday morning (November 21) Fungata brought her case to the tumukun. Involved at first were only Fantan, Fungata, and Tilamau. The older and more responsible people did not appear. Fantan,